

NEWS MEDIA**Counter-Spy**

In the post-Watergate rush to candor at all costs, exposing the identities of American intelligence operatives around the world has become almost commonplace. But not until CIA station chief Richard Welch was gunned down in Athens last week (page 24)—a month after he had been named as a top U.S. spy in *The Athens News*—had any officer fallen victim to murder after having his cover published. Bitter U.S. intelligence officials blamed Welch's death on the publicity generated in spy-ferreting books by former CIA agents Victor Marchetti and Philip Agee, by the Congressional probes of CIA operations, and most doggedly, by a quarterly called *Counter-Spy*.

Based in Washington, *Counter-Spy* makes an arcane specialty of publishing lists of high-level CIA functionaries operating under U.S. Embassy cover. In two years, it has named 225 such clandestine operatives, including Welch—who was identified in two issues of the magazine this year. The editors, seven youthful antiwar movement veterans who angrily denied any responsibility for Welch's murder, claim they got the names from "a source," then checked them out against the State Department's Biographic Register, which lists current assignments and backgrounds of Foreign Service officers (such oblique credits as "Foreign Service Reserve" or "Army Dept. analyst" are often tip-offs).

Moonlight: *Counter-Spy's* masthead says it is published by Fifth Estate Security Education, a nonprofit corporation. It lists an advisory board that has included Agee and Marchetti along with author Kirkpatrick Sale, and such battle-scarred antiwar-horses as David Dellinger and Marcus Raskin. The unsalaried staff puts the magazine together in their homes, and most moonlight at such jobs as bartending. "We're not really in the magazine business," explained 25-year-old co-editor Doug Porter.

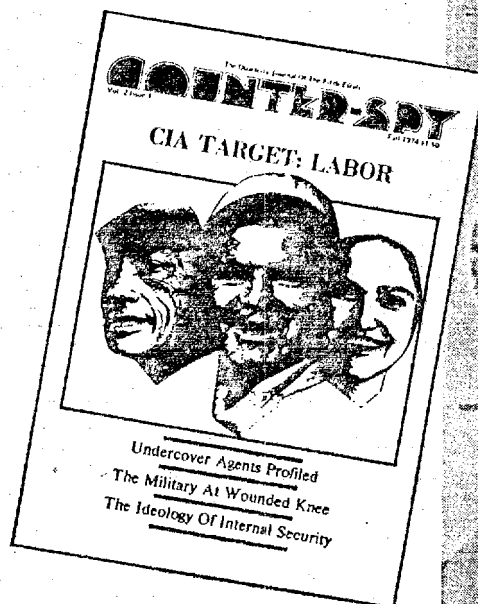
Indeed, with a circulation of 3,000 and an editorially biased price schedule (\$6 a year for individuals, \$10 a year for libraries, \$75 a year for government agencies), *Counter-Spy* is barely in business at all. It is sustained by contributions from activists like novelist Norman Mailer, who helped start the periodical. In February 1973, Mailer corralled 500 invited guests—at \$50 a couple—into New York's Four Seasons restaurant to celebrate his 50th birthday. They also heard him proclaim the formation of The Fifth Estate, a "democratic secret police" dedicated to rending the veil from covert CIA and FBI operations. Most guests greeted the announcement with bemused derision. But Mailer used their funds to finance the Fifth Estate Corp. that started *Counter-Spy*, and even contributed a one page anti-CIA critique to

the magazine's spring number this year.

In other issues, *Counter-Spy* has rehashed familiar "exposés" of CIA undercover agitation in Latin America, Vietnam and Portugal, brightening a drab format with such punning headlines as *THE AFL-CIA GOES ON SAFARI* to attack alleged collusion with labor in Africa. But its main impact is the regular publication of agents' names. Last January, it printed a detailed list of 150 chiefs of station and has launched a running "CIA around the World" feature. To CIA charges of reckless endangerment of its operatives, co-editor Tim Butz replied last week that all those identified were known in the spy trade as "light cover

sounding for months on the possible tragic consequences of the spy-hunting trend, and last week they were furiously on the attack. David Phillips, who heads the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, issued a statement denouncing "those who, while claiming to be responsible critics, carry on the irresponsible practice of fingering for violence their own countrymen." And former station chief Peer de Silva, who lost the sight of one eye to a terrorist bomb in Saigon, said *Counter-Spy* makes agents targets for "the foreign Squeaky Frommes who think they're doing the world a favor by getting rid of guys like us."

Even *Counter-Spy* advisory board member Marchetti seemed troubled by the publication of the CIA lists. "I do get uncomfortable about it," he said, "even



Name droppers: *Counter-Spy* and counter-culture editor Tim Butz



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

people." (Welch's cover as "special assistant to the ambassador" was so light that he lived in a CIA-owned house outside Athens.) The magazine, he added, "has never gone after a professional case officer operating under deep cover. They are extremely hard to identify and they are not the key indicators of U.S. intervention." Instead, Butz looks for migrations of "specialists" such as "labor advisers" suddenly assigned to politically volatile Spain or Portugal.

Quarry: How *Counter-Spy* actually compiled its roster is no less mysterious than the quarry it pursues. Some of the names (including Welch's) jibe with the slap-dash list in a little red book, titled "Who's Who in CIA," that first appeared in Europe in 1967 and is attributed to the Soviet KGB. But Butz insisted that *Counter-Spy* cultivates its own sources.

Intelligence officials, in any case, were not quibbling about the magazine's accuracy. Welch's murder seemed to them to bear out the warnings they had been

though they are picking out people under very light diplomatic cover, and any other intelligence agency with half a brain could pick them out." Marchetti called the Athens murder "a tragedy," but also described Welch's residence in a known CIA-owned house "one of the idiocies of the system. They've owned homes in some of these countries for twenty years, and you could even tell who was being promoted when you saw them move from one house to another."

The magazine's editors themselves seemed shaken but undeterred by the furor. "It's not our fault," maintained Butz, while author Sale argued: "The CIA is in the business of killing. Our job is to expose every clandestine agent until the CIA abandons its covert actions." In action as good—or meretricious—as its word, *Counter-Spy* plans a new list for its next issue to include the names of CIA agents in Angola, Paris and Sweden.

—DAVID GELMAN with EVERT CLARK and ANTHONY MARRO in Washington